

722.7
B63r



**UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS - URBANA
BOOKSTACKS**

GÖTEBORGS HÖGSKOLA

1891—1941

FESTSKRIFT

GÖTEBORG 1941

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS GOTOBURGENSIS

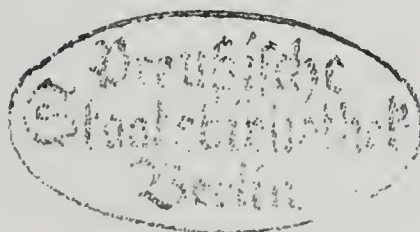
GÖTEBORGS HÖGSKOLAS ÅRSSKRIFT

BAND XLVII




1941

UTGIVEN PÅ BEKOSTNAD AV HÖGSKOLANS
GUSTAF-ADOLFSFOND



GÖTEBORG
WETTERGREN & KERBERS FÖRLAG



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2018 with funding from
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

GÖTEBORGS HÖGSKOLAS ÅRSSKRIFT XLVII
1941: 8

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

FROM ITS CLASSICISTIC TO
ITS LATE IMPERIAL PHASE

BY

AXEL BOËTHIUS

GÖTEBORG 1941
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

722.7

B63r

CLASSICS

Classics

To Helen and Alan Wace.

As Gray lecturer at the University of Cambridge in 1937 I took the occasion to discuss the new currents in late Roman architecture. Parts of my argument have since been published in my book »Hur Rom byggdes under antiken» (»How Rome was built in ancient times», 1938). Professor Rodenwaldt of Berlin has expressed ideas that largely agree with mine in a most admirable short paper, »Die letzte Blütezeit der römischen Architektur» in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* XV, 19 (July 1939), p. 244. I have long had in mind to deal with this subject more extensively, having intended to visit the Italian excavations in Tripolis and various monuments, and also to use to full extent materials collected and discussed by Krautheimer in »Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae», by Schultze (»Basilika». Berlin 1928), Dyggve, Westholm and others¹). The political situation making this impossible, I must for the present confine myself to restating my points of view, merely in this way contributing to a discussion which I hope will finally result in a comprehensive work on this subject.

My statements and suggestions may claim a special actuality because of Senatore Bartoli's recent work on the Curia of Diocletian (fig. 2 and 7). This important building most typically exemplifies the new currents in late Roman architecture. In my studies I have always tried to arrive at an understanding of this kind of architecture by viewing it in connection with the late expressionistic portraits and the late reliefs, those of the Arch of Septimius Severus in the Forum Romanum, and later ones. Therefore, my observations also try to keep step with the splendid research concerning the late sculpture that has recently resulted in A.

¹) Cfr. also Rodenwaldts chapter in the Cambridge Ancient History XII, p. 561 ff. and Krautheimer, *The Review of Religion* 1939, p. 127.

My English manuscript of this article has been carefully revised by my friend, Dr. Nils Hammarstrand, formerly of the Faculty of the University of Virginia, U. S. A. I wish to express to him my thanks for his able co-operation in giving this article its final English form.

1945-50 sketch = 1941 ed, part 8
 Classics

von Gerkan's and H. P. L'Orange's great work, »Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens». ¹⁾

The classical tradition of Imperial architecture was established by the enormous building activity, which the *Res gestae* of Augustus summarize. The Augustan artists and architects enlarged and translated into marble the legacy of the Hellenized late republican architecture and art in Rome. As Tacitus said: The gods did not allow that the plan of the temples should be altered (*Hist.* IV, 53). The starting point is everywhere the Hellenized late republican Roman tradition and spirit, *tuscanicorum et graecorum operum communis ratiocinatio*, as Vitruvius styles it (IV, 8.5). This is apparent in the Roman temples, in the Forum of Pompeii, the Forum of Caesar at Rome etc. ²⁾ As a matter

¹⁾ Among recent works and important incidental observations I here further refer, in particular, to L'Orange's »Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts», and to F. Gerkes »Das heilige Antlitz» (1940) with references. Especially I wish to mention Rodenwaldt's observations about frontality in the *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute (LI (1936), p. 105 ff.) and Wegner's analysis of the reliefs of the column of Marcus Aurelius (*ibidem* XLVI (1931), especially p. 167 ff.).

²⁾ Among many other statements I refer to my own exposition in *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* IV, 1935, p. 165 f. I agree with Gjerstad (*Ord och Bild* 1941, p. 145 ff.) that Oriental influence is obvious in the planning of the Imperial Fora but emphasize that this influence is basic. It is manifest already in the planning of old Tuscan and Italic public places with a temple with close rear wall in the upper end, cfr. my observations in »Vitruvius and the Roman Architecture of his Age» in *Dragma Martino Nilsson dedicatum* (Lund 1939), p. 120 and in »Hur Rom byggdes under antiken», (pp. 98 and 225 ff.) This tradition is still apparent in the temples of Piazza Argentina in Rome with their altars and rudimentary enclosures. This type of place is logically developed to accord with the plan of the Tuscan temple — with its interior being accessible only from one side and its having an altar in front. This type of place — the »temenos place», as we may call it, adopting Appianos' expression in his description of the Forum of Caesar (*Bellum Civile* II, 102) — appears as early as the third century B. C. in the Forum of Pompeii, there combined, however, with an old-fashioned, profane Italic piazza without dominating temple (cfr. Armin von Gerkan's conclusive exposition »Der Stadtplan von Pompeji», Berlin 1940, p. 17). Thus, at least from the third century B. C. we meet with two types of Italic profane Fora: 1) the »piazza type», the old piazza, Hellenized, provided with porticoes etc., but without dominating temple and axial systematization (the Forum Romanum, the Forum of Paestum and Vitruvius' description V, 1.1); 2) the »temenos type» with a temple at its upper end, corresponding to the *tablina* of the Atria,

of fact this assimilation does not only concern the planning, forms and spirit, but also the store of architectural types. It is, indeed, interesting to compare what Vitruvius says in his fifth book with a Hellenistic town, for instance Priene or Miletos. It is evident that what Vitruvius describes is not a genuine Hellenistic town, but the Hellenized *Italic* town, the *Italic forum* in contrast to the Greek (V, 1.1) and so on, in short the *consuetudo italica*. Purely Greek institutions are especially emphasized as such (V, 11.1; V, 7.1). Most important features of the Hellenistic towns are omitted such as the »ekklesiasterion», or »bouleuterion» of the type known from Miletos and Priene and existant at Tralleis according to Vitruvius himself (VII, 5.5)¹), the »emporion», in the sixth book the peristyle houses (without a »megaron»), the »megaron» houses without peristyle known from Priene, Asea, Alexandria, the types of house known from Olynthos etc. On the other hand, public

and with their axial arrangement (the Forum of Pompeii and the Imperial Fora in Rome).

Fresh influences from the Orient and the Hellenistic world very likely came with Cæsar, when he founded his Forum in Rome (Appianos l. c.). His Forum shows at any rate that this influence met with the old Italic Fora with their original Tuscan inheritance and Hellenistic outfit as a dominating type of planning, established at least 200 years before Cæsar. The Forum of Cæsar is but a luxurious systematization of a place such as the Forum of Pompeii, even if — as quite possible — the Forum Julium originally had no porticoes, only rows of *tabernae* along its long sides in rather old-fashioned Italic way. (These *tabernae* no doubt were government offices, not shops or workshops, cfr Appianos l. c. As very well pointed out by L'Orange (Gerkan-L'Orange. Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens, p. 94. Cfr my remarks Roma IX (1931), p. 447 ff. and Eranos XXXVII (1939), p. 69 ff.) we see such offices in use at the *forum* or hall, in which the *congiarium* on one of the fourth century reliefs on the Arch of Constantine takes place. L'Orange convincingly compares the second story of the offices on that relief with that of the *tabernae* of the Forum Julium, thus explaining the use and non-commercial character of the latter). In the Forum of Augustus with its high enclosures etc. a new development of the old forensic heritage begins, but also there the starting point is the well-known Italic plan with a temple at the upper end (as a kind of *tablinum*) and flanking porticoes.

¹) According to my opinion *Caesaris amici* in Cicero's letter to Atticus (IV, 16.8) of the year 54 B. C. intended to build such a Hellenistic »ekklesiasterion» in the court of the *Saepta*: *Saepta tributis comitiis marmorea sumus et tecta facturi eaque cingemus excelsa porticu. . .* I agree with Gatti (L'Urbe II,9 (1937), p. 8 ff.) that this building was probably never built. The *Saepta* thus remained an open court surrounded by porticoes without intrusion of the monumental Greek architectural type, cfr. Bull. Com. LXVII (1939), p. 204.

buildings typical of Italic tradition dominate: the *basilica* (V, 1.4), *aerarium*, *carcer*, *curia* (V, 2, 1.¹) This Hellenized, Italic town as a whole gave the Augustan architects their program. It is evident, that this tradition was deeply connected with the Greek towns of Italy and their Hellenistic development, with the western branch of Hellenism that is, which also gave Roman Literature early and typically Italo-Greek impulses.

As a matter of fact, hardly any type of architecture in the marble town of Augustus, was not heralded by the Hellenized late republican buildings in tufa and travertine. The Roman spirit of this Augustan architecture is interpreted to us by monuments such as the Ara Pacis and related decorations, by Greek form expressing as never before Roman strength and Roman tradition and revitalized by them — like the Hellenistic poetry in Rome. All this formed the new art and architecture about whose late republican and older Italic traditions Mrs Eugenia Strong excellently says in conclusion in the Cambridge Ancient History: »Augustus life-long policy was to present the culture of the Roman Empire — whether expressed in Art, Religion or Literature — as being one with that of Ancient Italy». This specialty Roman classicism changed of course: there was the revival of the late republican style under the Flavians and the baroque tendencies of that period, and the age of Nero expressed in the fourth style of Pompeii, the planning of the Domus Aurea etc. There were revivals of Greek culture and the Greek reaction against the Roman spirit. There was the forceful revival of the classical style under Trajan with daring attempts to renew the style, introducing elements from more popular and vivid vulgar currents below and behind the stately classic facade. Rightly Bianchi Bandinelli, in a splendid article in *Le Arti* (I, 4, p. 329), traces in this the influence of one great master, the master of the Column of Trajan and of the famous Trajanic relief on the triumphal Arch of Constantine.²) There was further the classicistic reaction and enthusiasm for Greek art of Hadrian, the baroque of the Antonines and the Severi — but all the same

¹) Here I can only mention F. W. Schlikker's book »Hellenistische Vorstellungen von der Schönheit des Bauwerks nach Vitruv» (Berlin 1940) and his attempts to distinguish between Vitruvius' main Greek sources and (what I discuss here and in my article »Vitruvius and the Roman Architecture of his Age» l. c.) the rules of his Roman teachers. I hope to be able to return to Schlikker's important studies.

²) Bianchi Bandinelli's article is programmatic. It emphasizes for Roman art the same principle that Vagn Häger Poulsen expresses for Greek art in his article about Myron in the *Acta Archaeologica* XI (1940), p. 2.

the classic heritage from the days of Augustus, though renewed, loses its vitality in the amazing age of crises, through which the Roman Empire passed in the third century. It still stamped the façade of the age of the Severi. Subsequently it rather more and more became a noble but formal traditional principle, ever more losing its intrinsic power of renewal in contending with new aims and ideas. In the deep mysterious regions of popular needs and persuasions and psychoses behind the sonorous Latin of the state and behind its stately, official and classicistic façade there germinated and began to develop forces of great future importance, predestined to give rise to the last great phase of ancient culture — I mean the Empire of Diocletian and Constantine with its new Christian literature, its new art, and state, and religion.

I am here speaking only of architecture and art, but in dealing with them it is necessary to keep in mind their obvious connection with all that positive and creative renewal of ancient culture, which to a great extent formed the late Empire under the influence of new, unclassic powers in a world-wide, amalgamating evolution. Heretofore we have regarded this powerful late creation too much from the viewpoint of the decaying classical tradition.

It now seems necessary to follow scholars, who have looked upon this new, late Roman world also from the viewpoint of its own new, unclassic forces — those forces which were so preponderantly active in laying the foundations of the traditions of the Christian Empire, of medieval times right down to the Renaissance, and in the field of religion still further.

Speaking of art, I limit myself to the statement that rather suddenly a new, quite unclassic style — in most obvious connection with the actual general development in the Empire — appears side by side with the classic one. As I hinted in speaking of the Column of Trajan, great artists, no doubt, were in quest of unclassic possibilities and showed an interest in popular, not to say vulgar needs, creating a more expressive, less frigid style than the traditional classic one — a style that could speak to the millions, being more easily understood by them. The genesis of this style, already years ago discussed by Mrs Strong, is one of the most fascinating chapters in the art history of the Empire. What I wish to emphasize is the rapidity with which it became the official art vernacular of the state in spite of the classic reaction that must have opposed it. Obviously, it was the style of propaganda

appealing to the masses that was wanted in the 4th century. As examples of this new style we choose the late portraits — so well studied and understood by Kaschnitz-Weinberg, L'Orange, and others (fig. 4). At once they reveal themselves as predecessors of the Byzantine and Romanesque styles; they appear in continuous competition with classicistic reactions not to say renaissances from the third century onwards through medieval times. What a quite new depth and meaning in the gaze of Constantine, as we see him on the arch at Rome! ¹⁾ How splendidly does not the head of the colossal statue from the Basilica Nova at the Via Sacra show that spirit of frontality and of conventional, ceremonious majesty and stateliness, which life and art of those days developed in strong contrast to the classic tradition of Augustan and Trajanic art in their noble civic plainness! ²⁾ The emperor of Barletta, which I would date towards 400 A. D., excellently illustrates this late, monumental Imperial dignity, with which, as Alföldi so well expresses it ³⁾, the idea of deity was associated. »The ecclesiastic art of the 4th century follows the etiquette of the imperial court». Mithras — for example — remained, on the whole, classic in style. The tradition of his iconography was founded in the earlier times of the Empire through the great creations, of which we get a glimpse in the great Mithras in late Hellenistic style from professor Calza's new excavations at Ostia. Some 400 years later Christian art shows that the classical style then no more satisfied the masses. At that time the classical heritage, as manifest ⁴⁾ in the Apollonian Christ of the Thermae museum, became the weaker current. The artists, who created the dominating style of Christian art, as

¹⁾ L'Orange. »Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts», fig. 120.

²⁾ *ibidem*, fig. 163 ff.

³⁾ Cfr. Bianchi Bandinellis remarks in his article about Themistocles from Ostia *La Critica d'Arte* 23/24, p. 21. This is the process which, gradually giving up the tradition of individualistic and naturalistic (or even veristic) portraiture, created expressive types with frontality and general »spersonalizzazione». The waning ancient development thus afforded a starting point for medieval art, which indeed resembles the starting points of Greek archaic art in the sixth century B. C. with its borrowed, general types and rules. It is this late unclassic art, which I below venture to compare with the late, unmasked architecture and its highly expressive types, exceedingly important for medieval times.

⁴⁾ Fig. 3. Gerke. »Christus in der spätantiken Plastik» (Berlin 1940) fig. 56 ff. »Das heilige Anlitz», p. 41.

Alföldi says, by and by adopted the expressionistic propaganda style. It is fascinating to observe how this art, created as a loud spokesman for the ideas and the majesty of the late Empire, gave the Christian artists their means of expressing all the deep religious sentiments of Early Christian and Romanesque art. But, of course, many of the late Roman portraits collected by L'Orange¹⁾ already show us the process, by which this late style became so to speak spiritualized. Nothing emphasizes better than these heads how much of the spirit and the spiritual foundations of Byzantine and Romanesque art was late Roman creation and legacy. In its origin it was a new creation of Roman art in the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D.

It is rather astonishing how quickly these new styles were recognized as — so to speak — official ones, or rather as styles of preference. Nothing shows this better than the Arch of Septimius Severus of about 200 A. D. It is one of the great official monuments in the very centre of Rome. In spite of all that the columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius already reveal of new unclassic movements, of daring and renewing unknown masters and all that Mrs Strong and others have convincingly set forth, I have always chosen and indicated the Arch of Septimius Severus as a most obvious starting point for what we may call late antique or medieval — which is very much the same. In excellent lectures, reported in A. J. A. XLI (1937), pp. 115, 477, Lehmann Hartleben and Hinks have made fine observations. The decorative architectural parts of the arch are of classical style. But the decorative representations on the walls are of another style, of a style that combines an intention to show details as accurately as possible with an entirely ✓ unrealistic technique of representation of the whole.

Hinks well compares these reliefs with that of the Haterii and remarks: The Greek spirit was rational. The Romans were more interested in the narrative. That is exactly what the Arch of Septimius Severus shows. The artist is eager with keen desire to tell us all and no more cares for the classic, Greek rules about proportions and perspective²⁾. The towns are like birds' nests. The attacking soldiers are high

¹⁾ L. c. fig. 185 ff. Cfr. especially such heads as fig. 216/7 (our fig. 4), 221/3.

²⁾ For a comparison it is tempting to point to the spirit of modern advertising and its reaction against the claims of naturalistic art — as well expressed by J. P. Marquand in his new novel, »H. M. Pulham Esq.«: »It simply does not convey

false dichotomy

as the town walls. The generals and their staffs are lifted up above their armies by the artist's eagerness to show everything. The artist's desire is to tell the whole tale regardless also of chronological sequence, to show several non-contemporaneous events in the same space — thus breaking up the old unity of time and space of Classical Art. The affinity with medieval art is obvious. Probably the influence of some narrative Oriental style enters here — but, as Lehmann Hartleben observes, this desire to tell the whole story at any cost is to be found early in Roman art. It is characteristic of a popular undercurrent, manifest in the less sophisticated, more plebeian art of the exterior walls at Pompeii, so interestingly contrasting with the classical tradition of the interior decorations. The disregard for proportions, it is to be noted, we already observe, to some degree, on the Column of Trajan. As Bianchi Bandinelli has said, its great master dared to introduce rather freely elements of this narrative and talkative vulgar style, thus gaining for his own modern and personal art a new expressive power. It is still more visible on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius, but, as Lehmann Hartleben says, in its full development with complete disregard of time and perspective it is, as far as we can see, for the first time used for a monumental work on the Arch of S. Severus — as a self-conscious style, be it, again, observed, in conjunction with the classic one. This plainly shows that elements of medieval culture, which sometimes have been taken as proofs of naïve and retarded decline, on the contrary often were select scattered remains of the variety of possibilities offered by Roman culture. We have often overlooked them as such, because of our classicistic point of view and our tendency to identify ancient Roman with classic and thus forget the dynamic force of the late Empire. The new current in late Imperial architecture — which it is my main interest to discuss here — has to be seen and understood in the same way.

* * *

Turning now to architecture it would, indeed, be a most important task to catalogue the buildings and vaults, the idea. For one thing you don't see the buttons and the stitching». . . »May I ask you (the criticized artist inquires) if you can ever see the details of buttons on a coat at such a distance»? »What do I care about distance», Mr Kaufman said. »I am not paying you for the distance».

elements of cultivated Roman town life and the decorations and structural forms, which belonged to the architecture of the Roman Empire before Constantinople succeeded Rome as the cultural and political leader of the world. This architecture was of course a creation of the whole Empire, though rightly called »Roman»: Rome was the capital of the development. Augustan Rome assumed the leadership; the legacy of architectural forms of the late republican and Augustan spirit gave the new, Roman touch, that made the obvious difference between Hellenistic and Imperial Roman architecture. On the other hand, it is self-evident that not only the Campus Martius and the Imperial Fora and temples of Rome but also the new towns of Africa etc. became the field of experimentation in the centuries after Augustus.¹⁾ This continued Imperial development meant systematization, new forms of luxury, enlargement²⁾. The charming, free grouping of peristyle palaces at Alexandria, Pergamon,³⁾ etc. is succeeded by the splendid, monumental unity of the three peristyles of the Domus Augustiana. The Mouseion of Alexandria⁴⁾, the Library of Pergamon are succeeded by the standardized Roman type, known to us by the Templum Pacis in Rome⁵⁾ and the Library of Hadrian at Athens. After the more or less casual Hellenistic harbours with open, exterior bays and interior λιμένες ὀρυκτοὶ καὶ κλειστοί Imperial Rome creates the splendid enlarged unity of the harbour of Claudius and the λιμὴν ὀρυκτὸς καὶ κλειστός of Trajan⁶⁾ and so on. Even in towns with fine

¹⁾ Cfr. the *Forum* and *Thermae* of Leptis, below p. 17 and 26.

²⁾ Cfr. Pausanias' words about the theatre of Epidauros II, 27.5: τὰ μὲν γὰρ Ρωμαίων πολλὴ δὴ τι ὑπερῆκε τῶν πανταχοῦ τῷ κόσμῳ etc.

³⁾ Strabon 793.794. The various parts of the palace of Tiberius on the Palatine obviously were juxtaposed in the same free manner, cfr. Josephus. Ant. of the Jews XIX, 15. The planning of the peristyles of the Domus Augustiana I still look upon as an amalgamation of Hellenistic form and Roman tradition, tinged with baroque tendencies, cfr. Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sveciae IV, 1935, p. 187 ff.

⁴⁾ Strabon 794 clearly suggests a building resembling the Gymnasion of Priene or Vitruvius' description of a Gymnasion with *exedrae* etc. V, 11.2.

⁵⁾ Cfr. Bull. Arch. Com. 1937, p. 7 ff. with Colini's brilliant analysis of the architectural type of the Templum Pacis.

⁶⁾ Cfr. Arrianus' words about Alexanders harbour at Babylon (VII, 19. 4), Strabon's description of Alexandria (792) and other Hellenistic towns. It is self-evident that the harbour of Trajan by no means replaced the harbour

Hellenistic architecture the great syncretistic creation under the sway of Rome enters as a brilliant, new phenomenon, vieing with the Hellenistic architecture. This is visualized by, for instance, Pergamon with its Trajaneum, its Roman aqueduct, amphitheatre etc., or by the Hadrianic buildings of Athens. An excellent text is afforded already by Strabon in his description of Alexandria (795): *ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τότε Σαράπειον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμένα διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει* (that is the suburb favoured by Augustus). *καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται. τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ* (i. e. the Hellenistic buildings) *ὀλιγώρηται.*

These lines show that already the architecture which the *Res gestae* of Augustus summarize and which I tried to characterize above, p. 4 ff, appears as a modern and sensational feature — even in a famous Hellenistic town such as Alexandria. Augustus no doubt (as Strabon says about Nikopolis) especially honoured Egypt. It was under direct Imperial administration and care. Strabon's words, anyhow, foreshadow the progress in centuries to come of the Roman Imperial architecture in new lands such as N. W. Africa, where no doubt the architects experimented most freely, as well as in the very homes of Hellenism.

While essentially based on the Hellenized Roman legacy and on monumental large-scale systematization the Roman architectural development gave rise to new styles such as the modern expressive architecture of the fourth century, to be discussed below, or the baroque style, which was hated by Vitruvius already at its approach,¹⁾ but which triumphed in the planning of the Domus Aurea, of the Domus Augustiana, the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli etc. (and also in the interiors of the humble tombs of Isola Sacra). A catalogue, including all this, would contain overwhelming riches of forms: all the round, apsidal or hexagonal and octagonal halls of the palaces, the splendid vaults of the baths, the vaulted halls for business life such as that of the Mercato di Trajano and its somewhat simpler counterpart in the new excavations

of Claudius. It only completed the establishment with the usual stormproof inner harbour, as previous experience (Tacitus. Ann. XV, 18) and the Hellenistic harbours suggested. Cfr. Bloch, Bull. Com. LXV (1937), p. 95.

¹⁾ VII, 5. Cfr. my study »Vitruvius and the Roman Architecture of his Age», l. c. p. 116, 143.

at Ostia, the costly wooden roofs of the most dignified basilicas and halls such as the Curia of Diocletian, the Sedes Justitiae of Constantine, the luxurious apsidal lecture-halls behind the porticoes of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan¹), the magnificent »Sala del Trono» of the Domus Augustiana²). Large wooden roofs were, indeed, a special pride of the Romans (Plinius XXXVI, 102.XVI, 201. Dio Cassius LV, 8.3. Vitruvius V, 1, 6 ff.³) The Christians kept the wooden roofs in their basilicas etc. as a most typical feature of dignified architecture. In this catalogue of buildings and architectural elements of future importance, extant in Imperial Rome, would further, of course, be included the brick-faced tenement houses with their rows of shops along the street, as well as the great legacy they have left to medieval times, dealt with by Paatz from the viewpoint of a medievalist in the third volume of *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (1939), p. 129 ff. and by me years ago in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* (1937)⁴).

In a highly interesting article, »Nuove forme dell' architettura romana» (in the *Atti del III Convegno nazionale di storia dell' architettura*, 1941, p. 95 ff.), Lugli points out that the great innovations in Roman Imperial architecture appear in the age of the Flavians. This observation agrees very well with my view that Augustan architecture mainly was a new, enlarged edition of the Hellenized late republican architecture. In any event, I point out that the systematization of the tenement houses and the decisive technical progress in that kind of architecture took place at an earlier time, in the period between Sulla and Augustus as Vitruvius explicitly states (II, 8. 16 ff.), and as we, indeed, can observe on the monuments (cfr. my studies, »Das

¹) The so to speak scholastic use of the halls at the Fora is once more proved by the graffiti of schoolboys in the hall (»basilica») behind the Forum Julium (cfr. Della Corte. *Bull. Arch. Com.* 1933, p. 111 ff., Lugli, »I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio». *Supplemento*, (Roma 1940), I p. 21 ff.) Cfr. also for instance the *exedra* of the Mouseion of Alexandria (Strabon 794), Vitruvius V, 11.2 and for general information Marrou, »La vie intellectuelle au Forum de Trajan et au Forum d'Auguste». *Mélanges publiés par l'Ecole de Rome XLIX*, 1932.

²) At least to me it seems evident that the large halls of the Domus Augustiana had wooden roofs. It is the only possible roof construction.

³) For *testudo* (wooden roof) cfr. Wistrand. »Vitruvius-studier». *Diss.* (Göteborg 1933), p. 12 ff.

⁴) Cfr. also XIII Congrès international d'Histoire de l'Art, Stockholm 1933, *Actes* p. 106, the only of my communications on the subject observed by Paatz (l. c. p. 138).

Stadtbild im spätrepublikanischen Rom». In: *Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae* IV, 1935, pp. 168 ff., and »*Vitruvius and the Roman Architecture of his Age*», pp. 133 ff.). What Flavian architects accomplished in this field of architecture was mainly to introduce brick-covered walls (without changing the established types). In this field the only innovation which can be attributed to Flavian architects or rather to the architects of the second century is what Calza, in his excellent article, »*Contributi alla storia della edilizia imperiale romana*» in *Palladio* 1941, p. 1 ff., calls the »*Palazzo di tutti*» i. e. the house of the type of the »*Casa di Diana*», the »*Horrea Epagathiana*» etc. at Ostia (described by me as Type IV in »*Das Stadtbild im spätrepublikanischen Rom*» l. c. p. 169). This type of house, as Calza states, is a combination of the traditional peristyle and atrium houses on one hand and, on the other, the tenement houses grown up on the rows of *tabernae* (*tabernae tabulatae*). The *thermae* of the Forum of Pompeii herald this type. It appears in the provincial town as a sudden importation from the capital without any organic connection with the local architecture.¹⁾ The »*Palazzo di tutti*» represents a typically Roman unification and systematic reorganization of the possibilities offered by the architecture of the kind extant in the Empire and especially in Rome. My own views on this development wholly agree with Calza's. Here, as generally, the material altogether belongs to the legacy of the Hellenistic towns and Rome. The great Roman achievements are — here as mostly — due to the forceful reorganization of this legacy on an enlarged scale to meet the increasing »urbanistic» needs of the large towns of the Empire, before all of Rome itself. Assertions about Oriental elements, which are claimed not to be constituent parts of the Hellenistic or Etruscan - Italic heritage, have to be carefully proved in each special case. The Roman development, indeed, was very traditionalistic. This is true even on the field of utilitarian architecture in spite of its increasingly radical tendency towards what I have styled below the »functional» style (from which the last great Roman innovation, the new monumental architecture of the third and fourth centuries, gradually developed. Cfr. fig. 2 and 5 ff.).

¹⁾ Calza seems to overlook such imported ready types from the larger towns in his somewhat rash statement about the possibility that tenement houses of the type of the large towns existed in Pompeii (l. c. p. 22. Cfr. my statements in »*Das Stadtbild im spätrepublikanischen Rom*» l. c. p. 170 f.).

The *tabernæ* naturally induce attempts to discover, for the proposed catalogue, important elements of medieval and Byzantine town-life in Imperial Rome before 330 in the same way as suggested above about sculpture and painting. This would easily take us over vast fields, inclusive of many items of everyday life, a tenacious, low heritage such as the *tabernæ*, and — to add another incidental remark — the types of tombs on the paupers' side of the Roman cemeteries, seen, for instance, in the Isola Sacra near Ostia.¹⁾ Types such as the moulded lids and the tiled roofs — resembling castles of cards — lived on, and we can, indeed, trace their dispersal to Aosta²⁾, to Trier, to England (the Museum of York.)! Commonplace is the statement that medieval polychromy carries the real ancient tradition of painted reliefs and coloured statues all over Imperial Rome and the Empire, a classical and ancient tradition broken only by the white marbles of the Renaissance.

Adding their evidence to that of the mosaic apses of Pompeii, excavations in recent years have reminded us of how thoroughly Roman — if I may now use that word in the sense of Imperial Roman — also the mosaics were. Thanks to these recent excavations we now have the marvellous »Casa del Mosaico di Nettuno e di Anfitrite« at Herculaneum and also the high apses covered with mosaics in the house of the Rotunda, recently excavated by Calza in Ostia. When the architects of the Christians took over the mosaics for the walls and apses of their buildings, as we see it in the splendid fourth century apse of the Lateran Baptisterium, such works had since 300 years been decoratively used in Roman profane architecture.

Such mosaics, pagan or Christian in their subjects, belonged to the Roman town of brick-covered tenement houses and *tabernæ*; to the life of the masses summoned by the bells to the great *Thermae* of the most populous parts of the large towns, whether in Rome or in some important provincial city such as Trier. *Sonat aes Thermarum* (Martialis XIV, 163)!

The rows of the *tabernæ* and the splendour of the mosaics are both part of the lasting legacy of ancient Rome. But many of the most magnificent elements of this urban legacy were with an ardent will condemned and discarded by the Christians. It would be an important

¹⁾ Calza. »La Necropoli del porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra« (1940), p. 44.

²⁾ A. J. A. XLIII (1939), p. 514. Fig. 11.

and interesting task to study the ancient cities from the particular viewpoint of the Christian moralistic criticism. The *Thermae*, and further the Imperial Fora, the temples and other official buildings, in which the classicistic tradition was especially alive and enshrined, so to speak, actually crumbled from neglect and disappeared with the downfall of the state. As early as the fifth and sixth centuries we see a wall of ancient fragments erected across the Forum of Cæsar and hear from Prokopios (*Bellum Gothicum* VIII, 21) that cattle from the campagna passed the Imperial Fora in the afternoons.

But certain characteristics of the monumental *decor*, which authors from Tacitus (*Ann.* XV, 43) to Claudianus and Cassiodoros speak of as being a necessary constituent of the Roman urban milieu, remained in a lasting way as alive requisites. Indeed, not only the *tabernae* survived. Even when the towns declined and crumbled, the Christians maintained the Roman urban requirement, inherited from the lofty halls of the *Thermae* and the public basilicas, that the buildings for great crowds and assemblies should be high and wide. With the very building types — above all the basilica — this requirement passed over to the new tradition of Christianity from the beginning after its victory: buildings like the basilicas ad Catacumbas and of St. Paul and St. Peter in Rome mark the transition from profane pagan to Christian tradition. The high and mighty churches of low medieval towns are indeed a survival of the Roman urban system, an alive requisite reminiscent of a long past.

This takes us back to the inquiring after structural types and architectural forms that survived as requisites of medieval times. Even leaving aside acknowledged Roman things such as the basilicas, the peristyles living on in the cloisters, the porticus villas with flanking towers and their legacy to medieval palaces¹) and so on, we find that much of what seems to us typically medieval once was part of the multiform, but powerful unity of the Rome of Constantine — and, indeed, even part of a much more remote antiquity! Again our field gets crowded with individual forms that claim to be recognized as Roman in origin. Take — for instance — such a well known feature as columns with archivolts. Where does this feature — destined to be so widely and brilliantly

¹) Swoboda. »Römische und romanische Paläste«. 2nd ed. (Wien 1924), p. 77 ff.

applied in the future — start? A wellknown painting in the »Villa dei Misteri» at Pompeii (second style) shows that it already belonged to the important legacy of the last centuries B. C., handed over to the architects of Imperial Rome.¹⁾ In the »Casa della Fortuna» at Pompeii, just before 79 A. D., we actually see it as a structure. Since Guidi's great work of excavation at Leptis Magna this most important feature also stands before us in magnificent form at the Forum of Septimius Severus of about 200 A. D.²⁾

It is thus rather astonishing to observe how much there is of what we call late classical, Byzantine, and even medieval that in principle and as technical achievement existed as early as around 100 A. D. — if not actually in late republican days. A catalogue would show at once that many forms which are often classified as Oriental heritage well may be so — but as a matter of fact in reality reached both Constantinople and the Middle Ages from the Rome of the earlier Empire and its marvellous first three hundred years of Imperial organization and long periods of inner peace. Such a catalogue — still to be made — would assign to this period its place also in the history of Art and Architecture, which is that of a highly creative, technically rather revolutionary era between Hellenism and Byzantinism. It would clearly show how deeply its remodeling unification of the legacy of the Mediterranean world changed and hallmarked all that legacy before it became the culture of our Middle Ages and of Constantinople.

I emphasize these well-known facts in order to put what I here style as the new currents in architecture and art of the late Roman Empire into the context, in which they reached later times as new dominating elements. They, too, belonged to the creations that were completed before Constantine moved the centre of the Empire to Constantinople. And even they would be included in the catalogue of clearly pre-Byzantine types and features, the production of which seems to me desirable. The new currents are indeed a final and most decisive addition to that catalogue. Through them this great Roman legacy, which I have sketched above, pointing out a few concrete instances, reached Constantinople and medieval times in a period of most impressive inner and fundamental reconstruction, in which new forces appeared beside those of the actual

¹⁾ Cfr. Maiuri in »Palladio» 1937, 4, p. 121.

²⁾ »Palladio» 1937, 1, p. 8 ff.

classical legacy of the Rome of the first centuries A. D., the Rome of classicistic predilections. The hold of Rome — i. e. the Empire before Constantinople — on the future depended largely on the fact that fourth century Rome still had so active and in certain ways potent a character. It was, indeed, not only due to habituation or to the fact that Rome and the Empire, whether upright or in ruins, represented a supreme achievement and inevitably remained the model even to feebler or decaying centres of life. As regards religion or the state this is, of course, self-evident. What I said about the new unclassic tendencies in portraiture and in the Roman reliefs, which from about 200 A. D. appear side by side contending with the classical tradition, has already shown the victorious power of the new art. I now proceed to the main purpose of this paper, namely to exemplifying also in architecture the new unclassical currents before 330 A. D., so supremely important for medieval times.

* * *

I premise the statement — to be verified by the following exposition — that the modern monumental architecture of the fourth century originated in and belonged to the constructions in concrete. The technique of architecture in concrete covered with brick — as far as dimensions are concerned — culminated about 300 A. D. Swiftly as probably never before the workmen's unions, which emperor Aurelianus in the 270ties gave the imperial title of Aureliani, constructed large tenement houses or vast city walls with a perfect technique, applying experimental methods to save more expensive material such as above all the brick. The efficiency of the process, of course, was especially dependent on the organization of work, the *συνέργεια*, about which John Malalas¹) speaks in connection with the Aurelian wall and the workmen's craftsmanship. Medieval building starts carelessly imitating what was a consistent system in this late architecture. The heritage lives on right through the Middle ages in the more or less corrupt concrete technique of smaller everyday constructions. This type of construction, the Roman vaults etc., was never more daring and impressive than in the early decades of the fourth century. Maxentius' and Constantine's basilica at the Via Sacra of Rome is our great witness.

¹) Chron. XII, 299 D. Cfr. Bloch. Bull. Com. LXVI (1938), p. 180. Lugli. Supplemento I. p. 92.

It may be our first *addendum* of modern style, technique, and spirit to the catalogue of the legacy of fourth century Rome. In every way this basilica is a building that embodies the new style of late Roman architecture. Here a vast interior was created by skilfully combining splendid barrel vaults in the aisles and a magnificent central vault in three compartments in the nave — it was a vaulted basilica in contrast to all the older, official basilicas in Rome, the Ulpia, the Aemilia, the Julia, etc., which, as also the Curia, had old-fashioned wooden roof construction. This was, as far as our material goes, a novel feature for a monumental public basilica, a late application to this type of building of the construction of the large, more profanely utilitarian structures of ancient Rome such as the *Thermae* and the market halls. As already observed, the early Christian basilicas with their beautiful and often costly wooden ceilings show that this innovation was not a success in conservative Rome. It was in Constantinople and the East that the vaulted basilicas came to dominate — for future triumphs on the way back to the Western cities.

The basilica of Maxentius and Constantine has also other features of the utilitarian architecture. For instance its large glass windows, of the type which we meet with in the old Christian basilicas such as S. Sabina or S. Georgio in Velabro, were taken over from the *Thermae*. In the interior they were combined with a splendid, classicistic decoration of Corinthian columns, stuccos, marble slabs covering the walls, a brilliant display of classical forms and luxurious materials comparable only with late Renaissance and baroque interiors. In contrast to all that the exterior again reminds us of the utilitarian architecture. The form required by the interior reveals itself — as in the Early Christian basilicas, for instance Santa Sabina on the Aventine — without any masking classic decoration or cover of marble slabs. A comparison with the adjacent Colosseum or with the old forensic basilicas is illuminating. Their traditional ashlar walls are discarded and instead we see walls representing the tradition of domestic architecture in concrete and of buildings influenced by this architecture, but without classical claims. The elementary *decor* of the undecorated Roman utilitarian architecture (cfr. above p. 13), its beauty born by necessity, praised by Frontinus,¹⁾ the *decor* that is of the Roman aqueducts, of the city

¹⁾ De aquis I, 16. Cfr. Schlikker's remarks l. c. p. 158 about the »Unfreiheit des Innenraums» in classic and classicistic architecture and Lugli. Supplemento II p. 70.

walls, and of the *Thermae*, keeps the field! It becomes a distinctive characteristic of the new architectural development, which a building such as the »Basilica Nova» represents. As on the Curia of Diocletian stucco cover imitating ashlar work may have adorned its exterior. At the entrances and other points columns and classicistic details were to be found. Such was also the case in especially elegant tenement houses — as for instance the Horrea Epagathiana and the »Casa del Moggio» at Ostia — in spite of the general tendency towards extreme barrenness in the domestic architecture.¹⁾ But, in the main, in the modernistic monumental architecture which the Basilica of Maxentius represents, the walls themselves, their proportions, clean lines and large windows, the *necessaria*, invest the building with *decor*, with a monumental exterior effect — in striking contrast to the rich interior with its classicistic adornments and to the older classicistic façades. Already the small Roman tomb houses, as we now know them from Isola Sacra,²⁾ show something of the same contrast of a simple exterior and a somewhat overdecorated interior — the latter being a reflex in the life of the middle and lower classes of the baroque style of the palaces from Nero's Golden House to Domitian's Domus Augustiana and the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli.

The dominant tradition in the exterior facade of the Basilica of Maxentius issues — in short — not from temples and classicistic façades, but from the architecture of profane public buildings (including *Thermae*, the commercial basilicas etc.). This constitutes in the field of architecture the new expressive style of the age, which, in my opinion, shows a trend akin to the modern expressive tendencies in sculpture, as set forth above. This great, undisguised and straightforward architecture lives on without any break in the exteriors of the Christian basilicas, of which the basilica ad Catacumbas (S. Sebastiano) arose not many decades later. Its original wall paintings, imitating marble incrustation,³⁾ manifest how closely the Christian basilicas followed their pagan

¹⁾ Another interesting concession to »unnecessary» elegance is of course the facade of the Mercato di Traiano towards the street outside the apsidal hall of the Forum Trajani. The rest of the mercato affords us the most perfect impressions of the severe Roman domestic architecture and its effect. Cfr. the decorated street outside the basilica of Maxentius. Lugli. Supplemento I p. 78.

²⁾ Cfr. Calza in »La Necropoli del Porto di Roma nell' Isola Sacra».

³⁾ Paintings, visible in the arcades behind the altar, of the type well known from Santa Maria Antiqua (first Imperial period cfr. Tea, »La Basilica di Santa Maria

models (as already pointed out regarding ceilings and mosaics) — or rather that they formed an essential part of the modern architecture of the age. Roosval, in his inspiring history of Early Christian art,¹⁾ has strongly felt the positive forces in the new architecture of the Christian basilicas with their plain façades and wooden ceilings. He took it for some especially Christian reaction against rich architecture, for a manifestation of the desire to create a style of poverty. The obvious explanation is that the Christians, in building their basilicas and square halls, kept the traditional wooden ceilings of the most dignified monumental halls, but otherwise clung to the most modern, expressive and unclassic architecture. This is what a building like the Santa Sabina tells a student of Roman architecture. Such was their start (though — as mentioned below — their architecture was not wholly unaffected by classical currents). Thus they maintained one of the most charming and distinctive effects of late Roman architecture, the contrast of restrained, fairly Spartan façades, sometimes enriched with ornamental entrances, and the splendour of the interior, that contrast which for instance at Ravenna makes so unforgettable an impression. It is the impression that professor Pijoan of Chicago once expressed in saying about St. Sophia: »Outside the pile of whitewashed bricks is of little shape. Inside it becomes the house of thousand shapes».

The modern and positive tendencies of the Christians are obvious also in their endeavours to use the Roman vaulted architecture »a simmetria centrale» for their baptisteria and martyria. Here, again, the *Thermae* and also the palaces with the »thousand shapes» of their interiors were the model. I call attention to the octagonal, vaulted halls at the rear of the lower peristyle of the Domus Augustiana on the Palatine or the house of the Rotunda in the newly excavated area at Ostia, which to my mind is an adaption of palatial architecture to the *atrium* of a fine private house (first period of the house). Most important in this connection is the grandiose church of S. Lorenzo at Milano with its vaulted, round hall behind the magnificent *atrium*. As Gino Chierici states in Palladio 1938, I, p. I ff., it is not an adapted thermal building, but an entirely new Christian structure from about 350 A. D. Though some-

antiqua», Milano 1937, p. 29) and the house of Ss. Giovanni e Paolo on the Caelius, room B (cfr. for instance Lugli's description in »I monumenti antichi di Roma e suburbio» I, Rome 1931, p. 234). etc.

¹⁾ »Fornkristen Konst» (In: Bonniers Konsthistoria. Stockholm 1933).

what later than the new departure in Constantinople it thus obviously still belongs to the creations of the Empire under the sway of Rome, and, consequently, it is to be added to the catalogue of the Roman legacy to Constantinople and the Middle ages. Though the Christians of the fourth century, in building their churches, mostly stuck to the stately forensic basilicas with their wooden ceilings, S. Lorenzo shows that they also conceived the idea of divine service in churches created after the model of the spacious halls of the other great monumentalized utilitarian structures! This shows again how freely they choose among the possibilities offered by the most modern architecture in the age of their victory (in addition to the classicistic architecture, cfr. below p. 30). It is evident that the »pile... of bricks» of the *Thermae* with their undisguised display of various types of vaults has some connection with the Romanesque churches such as for instance the cathedral of Trier. Such influence no doubt came via Constantinople. S. Lorenzo shows at all events that the Christians already at the very beginning of church building in Rome adopted also the rich interiors of the curvilinear halls of the baths and the palaces.

The modern monumental architecture with restricted use of the classical screen decoration of the façades, which the Christians thus adopted in its basilican as well as its centralized forms, marks, of course, a distinct break with the classical rule for monumental architecture, outlined by Vitruvius I, 2.6, and, of course, manifest in the older monumental architecture of the Empire:

Ad consuetudinem autem decor sic exprimitur, cum aedificiis interioribus magnificis item vestibula convenientia et elegantia erunt facta. Si enim interiora prospectus habuerint elegantes, aditus autem humiles et inhonestos, non erunt cum decore.

This evidently implies, among other claims, that Vitruvius desired stately exteriors in classical style for monumental buildings, as they actually had in his days. Some 100 years later Frontinus already contrasts the *pyramides otiosae aut cetera inertia sed fama celebrata opera Graecorum* with the *moles necessariae* of the Roman aqueducts.¹⁾ That is the decor of utilitarian architecture of the *Urbs nova* of Nero,

¹⁾ De Aquis I, 16. Cfr. Vitruvius VI, 5.2: *horrea, apothecae ceteraque, quae ad fructus servandos magis quam ad elegantiae decorem possunt esse.* He was no doubt far from the beauty of utility (*moles necessariae*) and its use for monumental effects.

which Tacitus (Ann. XV, 43) contrasts with the *Roma vetus: ea ex utilitate accepta decorem quoque novae urbi attulere*. It reminds us of the paradox that »there is no beauty but in utility« ascribed to Dr. Johnson, though he harshly denied it (1783). The demand that also utilitarian architecture should have its *κόσμος* is indeed alive also in Greece, as Aristotle explicitly testifies (e. g. »Politica« VII, 11. 8 = 1331 a)¹⁾ and the Hellenistic towns of Asia Minor splendidly confirm. But the Romans were — as they themselves knew (cfr. for instance Strabon 235) — really grand and constructive in this field. Cassiodoros' remark about the harbours of Rome in his *Formula Comitivae Portus Urbis Romae*²⁾ shows that these ambitions were not dead even in the sixth century: *ut quia longius a litore Roma videbatur posita, inde magis esse inciperet, ubi decorum ingressum navium possideret* etc.

A survey of the magazines of the imperial harbours of Ostia, as presented in Lugli's and Filibecks »Il Porto di Roma Imperiale e l'agro Portuense« (1935), or of the similar buildings at Ostia itself or even of the tenement houses of Ostia and Rome — not to repeat Frontinus' statement about the aqueducts — aids us to visualize the greatest achievements and their authentic monumentality. What happened in the modern architecture of fourth century Rome, was that what may be called the matter-of-fact *necessitas* style more and more came to dominate the exterior of monumental buildings. I repeat that this purpose-stressing, rather functionalistic tendency has of course some deep connection with the expressive, unclassic spirit of the new style in sculpture and painting. New, hard times, new forces devoid of the liberal tendencies of the old classical culture and »urbanism« are reflected in this expressive sculpture and in this straightforward monumental architecture.

One of the best exponents of this late architecture is the Roman »basilica« of Trier, that is the *Sedes Justitiae* of Constantine (fig. 8). The brilliance of its interior is gone for ever, but we can still admire the width and the height of the building. A contemporary panegyrist says:

*. . . video cū circum maximum . . . sedemque justitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari, ut se sideribus et caelo digna et vicina promittant.*³⁾

¹⁾ Cfr. also Xenophon. Symposium IV, 5.4.

²⁾ *Variae*, ed. Mommsen VII, epist. IX (Monumenta Germaniae Historica XII, p. 208).

³⁾ XII Panegyrici latini, rec. G. Baehrens (Leipzig 1911), VI, 22.5. Cfr. Thörnell. *Studia Panegyrica*. Diss. (Upsala 1905), p. 23.

This rhetoric exaggeration is interesting. This sensational, modern building had the traditional wooden ceiling, and it is thus obvious that the impressions of lofty height in architecture were to the fourth century Romans by no means exclusively connected with vaults. The lower parts of the exterior had a colonnade and were richly decorated in classicistic style, but the main impression was afforded by the simple, clear lines of the high building, which most impressively towered high above the classic decorations of the lower parts of the façade. Here we meet again with the new spirit. We here see adopted for the necessary buttresses that support these high walls one of the most famous motives of profane architecture, rows of arcades such as the Roman aqueducts show them. Their simple austere monumentality, praised by Frontinus, adorns the basilica of Trier, a building which has always impressed me with its Roman strength and its sober, monumental clarity, sharply contrasting both with richly classicistic structures and with the Gothic style of its romantic neighbour in Cologne.

We may trace this style further back. The Curia of Diocletian of the Forum Romanum (fig. 2 and 7), as emphasized by Bartoli¹), follows the rule given us by Vitruve V, 2.1:

sin autem oblonga fuerit, longitudo et latitudo componatur, et summae compositae ejus dimidia pars sub lacunariis altitudini detur.

These proportions probably were kept from the old Curia. But, on the other hand, a coin of Augustus indicates (as does one of the *Plutei* on the Forum Romanum, if it, as I believe, rather accurately represents the north side of the Forum) that the Curia Julia had columns in front. This was also the case in the Curia of Ostia, which was a square building, (i. e.. it was of the first type of a *curia* mentioned by Vitruve 1. c.). The Curia of Diocletian perhaps had a low portico, a *narthex*, as the christian basilicas, in front but no pronaos. It was covered with marble and stucco, imitating ashlar work. Otherwise it displays externally the straight lines of the hall, showing not even a rudimentary classicistic decoration as on the late republican hall of Praeneste²). Here no doubt, (as in the plan) the Italic tradition of the old *curiae* and the new taste came together. Typical is the extreme frankness, with which the buttresses — though not even transformed into

¹) So already in Atti della Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze. XXI Riunione. Rome Oct. 1932. I, p. 10. Cfr. Lugli. Supplemento I p. 57 ff.

²) M. I. R. XL (1925), p. 241 f.

blind-arcades as on the *Sedes Justitiae* of Trier — are kept on the corners of the building. We, of course, know that feature very well from utilitarian architecture. The *Thermae* of the Forum of Pompeii (n. w. corner) show a very coarse example. We see the buttresses adapted and beautifully systematized for standard utilitarian architecture as early as about 200 A. D. in the »Magazzini Severiani» at the Imperial harbours of Rome.¹⁾ In the case of the Curia buttresses, though not even transformed into blind-arcades, as on the basilica of Trier, occur on a monumental building in the very centre of Rome and, indeed, very much enhance its general impression. This is a new and most typical feature of this late, I repeat, monumental architecture. As an example of monumental buildings, in which the buttresses were kept and, as a matter of fact, actually formed the main decoration of the exterior, we may add the very impressive facade of the Anastasius Mausoleum at Marusinac studied by Egger and now also by Dyggve (fig. 6). In Dyggve's communication at the IV Congresso di Archeologica Cristiana (published in its Atti p. 391 ff.) are also to be found other instances of buttresses (with or without connecting arches, l. c. fig. 2—3) from about 300 A. D.²⁾ Dyggve points out their importance for a group of early medieval buildings in Dalmatia, an observation that of course easily would suggest a survey over wide areas also in the western parts of the Roman world and excursions for instance to Ravenna, to buildings such as S. Salvatore and the proto-Romanesque architecture of Northern Italy in general, where the buttresses are more and more developed into a fine decorative system.

But let us return to the Curia of the Forum with its sober and purpose-fitting buttresses and its architectural straightforwardness, characteristic of the buildings of the fourth century. Its rich and beautiful interior, thanks to senatore Bartoli, is now known to us as regards some of its elements such as the marble walls, white marble

¹⁾ Lugli-Filibeck, l. c. p. 83 ff. If the restoration *ibidem* fig. 51 with its system of blind-arcades like those of Trier were quite reliable, the *magazzini* and the *Sedes Justitiae* at Trier would afford a striking instance of a monumental building, in which a feature of utilitarian architecture was adopted. However, we have to admit that the buttresses of the *magazzini* may not have been connected by arches forming blind-arcades, cfr. fig. 6.

²⁾ Cfr. Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare X(1936), pp. 228 ff., especially the church Sv. Jure at Stari (fig. 148) with blind arcades.

steps for the chairs of the senators and splendid colours and patterns in the central part of the floor. Enough thus remains to indicate how strikingly the interior must have contrasted with the façade, and also to show that this most central and traditional building of the Empire still had a wooden ceiling.¹⁾

Every student of early medieval architecture knows the importance of the tendency in monumental architecture that I have now indicated and tried to explain, emphasizing its close connection with the elementary architecture of the tenement houses, the business halls, and the *Thermae*. It is worth while to point out how rational this utilitarian architecture became in its original field as early as about 200 A. D., contrasting to the metropolitan *Thermae* those of Leptis Magna, excavated by Guidi²⁾ (fig. 5). They afford an example of a most interesting and valuable extreme, probably not possible in Rome itself, but manifesting the tendency noticeable also in the baths of the Capital. It is highly characteristic that historians of architecture and art, starting from the nude forms of medieval and late Roman architecture, often have tried to show that the entrance hall of the Pantheon was a later addition, and that the cupola originally stood there alone displaying its majestic form. Research work some years ago has shown that the building with its entrance and the hall behind is altogether a structure reared as a unit³⁾. This is a matter of fact. More interesting it is, however, to emphasize how unhistoric the idea of an isolated cupola in monumental architecture of the Rome of Hadrian was. What we call domestic architecture could display such new and nude forms, as the *Thermae* of Leptis show. But a monumental architecture free from the note of classicistic design based on the use of architectural orders had not yet appeared. Even the Sedes Justitiae of Trier has it, though in a very attenuated degree. It was only in the late Empire after the crisis of the third century that a new monumental architecture arose, which was a sort of synthesis of the technique of concrete structures and the *decor*, that is the monumental effect, of earlier utilitarian buildings. At the basis of this new architectural

¹⁾ Cfr. my remark in the Gnomon XIV (1938), p. 28 and the Anzeiger in the Jahrbuch of the German Archaeological Institute 1938, p. 674.

²⁾ Cfr. Giovannonis article in Palladio 1937, I. p. 6 ff., Bartoccini in Africa Italiana, vol. IV, 1939 and Roma XVIII (1940), p. 212 with references.

³⁾ Cfr. Bloch. Bull. Com. LXV (1937), p. 98. Lugli. Supplemento I p. 92.

departure was a social life upon new, unclassical spiritual and material (and of course also ethnographical) foundations. Pantheon denotes an intermediate stage — but there Vitruvius' classical rules still prevail (cfr. above p. 22).

There is not a building in Rome which affords a more striking illustration of this new movement than the city wall of Aurelianus in its first, second and third stages as we now know them thanks to the excellent work of Ian Richmond (*«The city wall of Imperial Rome.»* Oxford 1930). Already the original gates of 271 A. D. and following years revealed the same forms and spirit as those of the fourth century. They are actually incorporated in the wall, as it now stands. We may compare the gates of the third and fourth centuries with for instance the Porta Praenestina. The *«Porta Maggiore»*, as it is called, was in its first period of about 50 A. D. constructed as a bridge with two arches for the Aqua Claudia and the Anio Novus, where they pass the Viae Praenestina and Labicana. It displays in splendid concentration all the rich style of classic city gates with a most impressive addition of the rustic work of the time of emperor Claudius.¹⁾ And now, back again to the warlike gates of the Aurelian wall, reared because of fear of Germanic raids and modernized during the internal war between Constantine and Maxentius, and later when the Goths came.

Gone is now the heritage of classicistic decorations from the happy, rich days of the Claudian or Trajanic ages and their noble civic culture. The gates of the Aurelian wall speak plain truth about hard times. In the contemporary buildings inside the town influence from utilitarian, *«functional»* architecture has been traced. Here comes — as Richmond remarks — to the Capital the style of the frontier, of the far, exposed northern provinces, the style we know from, for instance, second century Verulamium (St. Albans), or from the fortress of Deutz near Cologne. There is in the first and second periods of the Aurelian wall not an attempt visible to do anything like the Porta Nigra of Trier, though the Porta Tiburtina or the Porta Praenestina easily might have suggested it, incorporated into the wall as they were. Later

¹⁾ Compare the portico of the temple of Claudius on the Aventine and the large portico of Claudius at his harbour in Ostia (Cfr. Lugli-Filibeck, l. c., p. 117). I have also noted a stray column in the town of Ostia, kept in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni.

on at the Honorian Restoration (Period III) in the early fifth century Claudianus in »De sexto consulato Honorii» (529 ff.) says:

*Addebant pulchrum nova moenia vultum — — — Profecitque opifex
decori timor — — — cinctosque coegit septem continuo colles iuvenes-
cere muro.*

To this one may remark that the gates of Honorius, though by no means classic in style, were more elaborate and decorated than the severe, brick-faced towers and gates of the third and fourth centuries. Their simple, »functional» style was obviously already of the past. Greater variety of materials and decoration was obviously desired by Stilicho and his Imperial master, when they decided to rejuvenate the city, rebuilding the walls. Nevertheless the quoted words concern the brick-faced wall and the stern travertine facades that we see in Rome! There is still no intrusion of classicistic decoration! But we do not need any direct confirmations of literary sources to realize that people really liked this late style without embellishments which I am trying to define and which to us is suggestive of the Middle Ages and of clank of armour in spite of the fact that both the wall and coats of mail were ancient Roman heritage in medieval life. The severe style of the Aurelian wall is in harmony with all the rest. If we wish additional proof that this style resulted, not from incapacity but from the taste of its creators, we need only look at the interiors of the late buildings or contrast the Aurelian gates with the triumphal Arch of Constantine, or the Curia with the overdecorated entrance of the wrongly so called Templum Romuli of the Via Sacra, which at the first glance testifies that the classicistic style was not dead. If the Romans in Rome or later in Constantinople, where the Roman wall was more or less copied 412 a. D., had desired it, they would easily have been able to produce columnar splendour and all the rest, afresh or by plundering ancient monuments. Even the latter, medieval method was already in operation, as everybody knows from the splendid second century reliefs of the Arch of Constantine and the striking contrast between them and the contemporary reliefs in classicistic or modern expressive style. The examples are numerous and well known!

In short — whenever we meet with the modern style of architecture — born of the *moles necessariae*, to use Frontinus' words once more — or with the classicistic style, we may take them as positive witnesses of their builders' ideas about architecture and their creative will. They

competed with each other in the same way as the classicistic portrait and the new expressionistic style in sculpture and painting did. We may be sure that defenders of the classicistic tradition, alive in the very façades surrounding their Forum in strong contrast to its modern buildings and in the Latin and togas and titles of the Roman State, regarded these new styles as »dangerous innovations», subversive of old, venerable laws and established customs, as *novatores turbatoresque priscarum legum et moris antiquitus recepti*, to use Julianus the Apostate's words about the reign of Constantine¹). In any event, what I have grouped together as the modern styles in art and architecture no doubt more and more became the preferred manners of expression of the age. But it is, indeed, very important to remember that the classic style in architecture was alive all the same — as said above and as the second century reliefs and the contemporary reliefs in dry classic style on the Arch of Constantine have already illustrated. — There is still the same co-ordination as on the Arch of Septimius Severus, the contemporary work in classic style being, however, poorer. Additional evidence of continued classic tradition is furnished by the still rather classicistic monument behind the Rostra of the Forum, which L'Orange has rediscovered. He has rightly connected it with Diocletian's last attempt to renew the Empire by reviving the old Roman style and by persecuting the Christians.²) And then, to return to architecture, the Porticus Deorum Consentium at the Forum is of course also a most distinctive and pathetic monument, dating from the very age of Julianus the Apostate and his reaction against the new style in state and religion, life and art.

All the same, the new styles were great fecundating rivers and the most important addition to the catalogue of Roman creations before Constantinople, desired above. They flooded the Middle Age. As already hinted, the Christians with their strong modernizing tendencies and their opposition against the old tradition quite naturally desired striking novel forms and therefore mostly clung to the modern style. Hence the Early Christian basilicas, and also such an attempt in the style of the *Thermae* and the palaces as S. Lorenzo at Milan. Hence also the modern,

¹) Ammianus Marc XXI, 10.8.

²) M. I. R. LIII (1938), p. 1 ff. L'Urbe IV, 7 (1939), p. 1 ff. Kunst og Kultur XXVII (1941), p. 15 ff. Cfr. also L'Oranges and von Gerkans »Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinbogens».

expressive Christian sculpture, the very foundation of Romanesque art. But also here, also among the Christians, there were, both in art, architecture and literature, defenders of the classic tradition. They desired classic language, in contrast to the vulgar Latin recommended by more popular fellow preachers. For these literary parallels to the modern style I can here only refer to an anti-classicist such as Commodianus of Gaza or to Lucifer of Cagliari.¹⁾ In sculpture I have already contrasted a classicistic work such as the Christ of the Museo delle terme with the victorious, later style (fig. 3 f.). We meet with this Christian Classicism also in an interesting group of churches such as S. Salvatore of Spoleto, the old Christian building at Sestino, studied by Mario Salmi in Palladio 1938, I, p. 5 ff., and the delightful small »Tempietto di Clitunno», all of them markedly contrasting with the »modern» basilicas and with the equally modern centralized churches with cupolas and like S. Lorenzo at Milan showing close affinities with the baths and the palatial architecture (fig. 1).

To conclude: to the catalogue of architectural features inherited from the Rome that stood on the seven hills before Constantinople was built, we have to add the two main rival styles of the late Empire, the classic style and the triumphant modern style of the late Roman period, which the Christians, as a rule, adopted at their final victory and developed along their own lines. I have tried to view the new style in connection with the modern style of sculpture. I might, of course, have added cognate tendencies in mosaics and paintings, where, anyhow, the naturalistic tradition seems very strong.

In this development the classical current — that is the classicistic legacy of the Augustan age and of subsequent renaissances of Greek culture during the great days of the Empire — gradually lost force and influence. It obviously made scant appeal to the great masses, but it nevertheless subsisted and from time to time gave rise to new renaissances — from the age of Julianus, and Charles the Great, and Frederick II Hohenstaufen down to the final classicistic victory, the *gratam vicem veris et Favoni* of the Renaissance in Italy. From the point of view of this paper, what then happened was that the more or less unbroken tradition from the Empire of Constantine, the heritage from the last great and impressive phase of ancient Roman culture, was

¹⁾ Cfr. for the general context Marrou, *Revue de Synthèse* XV, 3 (Dec. 1938), p. 133 ff.

given up. Taste returned to the Empire of Augustus and Trajan, to its classicism and also to Greek revivals and reactions against Roman spirit in fact »proto renaissances» — before the crisis of the 3rd century.

I have referred to a catalogue of the architecture extant in Rome, or rather in the Roman Empire, before 326—330 A. D., partly as a *desideratum per se*, partly because of its importance for the understanding of the modern style in Roman architecture in its context with the other styles of the Empire. Its true character and significance are those of a most active part of the manifold heritage of forms and ideas, that Constantine brought with him, when he founded his Adonis Garden in the East (to use Julianus' sarcastic words). Incidental observations in the preceding exposition emphasized how much of what we call »medieval» actually originated during the centuries of the Empire before 300 A. D. I want to add a few observations, attempting to see the spoken-of catalogue also from the viewpoint of the third great dominant centre after, first the Hellenistic Royal towns and then Imperial Rome, from the viewpoint of Constantinople namely, and the inception of its cultural development and leadership. I premise that already Diocletian wished to make his eastern capital a copy of Rome, *Nicomediam studens urbi Romae coaequare* (De mortibus persecutorum 7). Constantine followed his example in Constantinople. There is fresh evidence of this in an article by Piganiol, Byzantion XI (1926), p. 383, where it is clearly shown, that the Imperial Palace of Constantinople originally was a direct copy of the palace of Domitian on the Palatine with its two Circuses. The influence of Rome was, of course, overwhelmingly great in the first period of the Byzantine development. The forms of political life with its Latin and traditional outfit¹⁾ were copied after Rome, as was all the town — what else would there have been to copy? A few more concrete hints may serve to confirm this — although a reference to a general survey, for instance Talbot Rice's Byzantine Art, might suffice. As already stated, the fifth century city wall of Constantinople was more or less a direct copy of the Aurelian wall after its restoration by Honorius. The Byzantine building laws are in many particulars based on the Roman ones, which is natural, since the latter represented the experience

¹⁾ Cfr. H. Zilliacus. »Zum Kampf der Weltsprachen im Oströmischen Reich» Diss. (Helsingfors 1935), p. 22 ff.

of 400 years of city life on a great scale.¹⁾ The description of *Urbs Constantinopolitana Nova Roma* from the time of Theodosios II followed closely the model of the Catalogue of the Roman regions from the time of Constantine the Great.²⁾ As to monumental architecture the Pantheon, the Basilica of Maxentius, S. Lorenzo at Milano, and all the other vaulted, large buildings of Roma, reveal themselves as prototypes for the modern architecture of Constantinople. On the other hand, the description of the Byzantine Capitol in the days of Theodosius II with its porticoes and their added D-shaped lecture halls at once reminds one of the splendid classic architecture of the Imperial Fora in Roma.³⁾ Rome with its old buildings in classic style and its modern art and architecture, as it stood old and young, a repository of *mos veterum* and of new, fermenting forces, put its impress on the first and fundamental stage of Byzantine culture.

We catch a glimpse of this most important transition the famous day 357 a. D. when Constantius visited the old Roman capital. Gasping he saw all, according to Ammianus' well-known description (XVI, 10. 13 ff.), the travertine façade of the Colosseum — to the top of which in this exaggerated style of description *aegre visio humana conscendit* — the Cupola of the Pantheon, and the enormous *Thermae*, but when viewing the Imperial Fora — says Ammianus — he lost every hope to succeed in imitating the grandeur of the Forum of Trajan. No time would ever dare try to copy the marvellous lines of that architecture, unparalleled on earth. Times changed. Soon the tidal current went from the East to the West with new creations of Byzantine culture and Eastern influence on the foundation laid by the imitation of Rome in the fourth and fifth centuries. The city of St. Sophia came! In this article I have es-

¹⁾ Cfr. Voigt. Die römischen Baugesetze (Sächs. Berichte. Philol.hist. Klasse. LV (1903), p. 188 ff. and passim). Arif Mufid. Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer. Istanbuler Forschungen I, 1932, p. 53 and passim.

²⁾ Nordh. »Prolegomena till den romerska Regionskatalogen». Diss. (Göteborg 1936), p. 60. Cfr. my review in Athenaeum XIV (1936), p. 214 and »Codice Topografico della città di Roma» I (1940), p. 64 f.

³⁾ Cfr. Marrou. »La vie intellectuelle au Forum de Trajan et au Forum d'Auguste.» Mélanges publiés par l'Ecole de Rome XLIX, 1932 and my observations in Die Antike XI, p. 119 ff. D-shaped halls were typical lecture halls. They occur also in the Mercato di Trajano, where they may have served as committee rooms or for auctions etc. (replacing the old Atria Licinia?). For the use of the type in utilitarian architecture cfr. the *forica* of the Forum of Caesar. — It is interesting that this type of hall was given up in the medieval development.

pecially emphasized how strong and dominating the impressions of Rome originally were, and with regard to this the words of Ammianus are incontestably weighty ones. He shows us the emperor of the East viewing with a feeling of powerlessness the glories of Imperial Rome, which he would have wished to transfer to *Urbs Constantinopolitana Roma Nova*. Surely, his words are appropriate for being inscribed in the suggested catalogue of the legacy of Rome. They emphasize the context, to which the new dominating modern tendencies belonged — together with the classical glories and the gradually waning survival of classicistic ideals in the Late Rome. As a converse, what I have attempted here, namely a study of the manifold possibilities suggested by fourth century Rome and its legacy, affords us a commentary to Ammianus' description of Constantius's visit to Rome and to his desire *Constantinopolim urbi Romae coaequare*. It enables us to grasp the import of Ammianus's words about the grandeur of Rome, suggesting, as it does, the rôle of the Byzantine emperor as a *nouveau riche* and a multimillionaire in the still active city of the old culture.



Fig. 1. Tempio di Clitunno. 5th. century A. D. (After Palladio 1938, 1, fig. 12).



Fig. 2. The Curia of Diocletian.



Fig. 3. Christ. Museum of the Thermæ. 4 th century A. D.

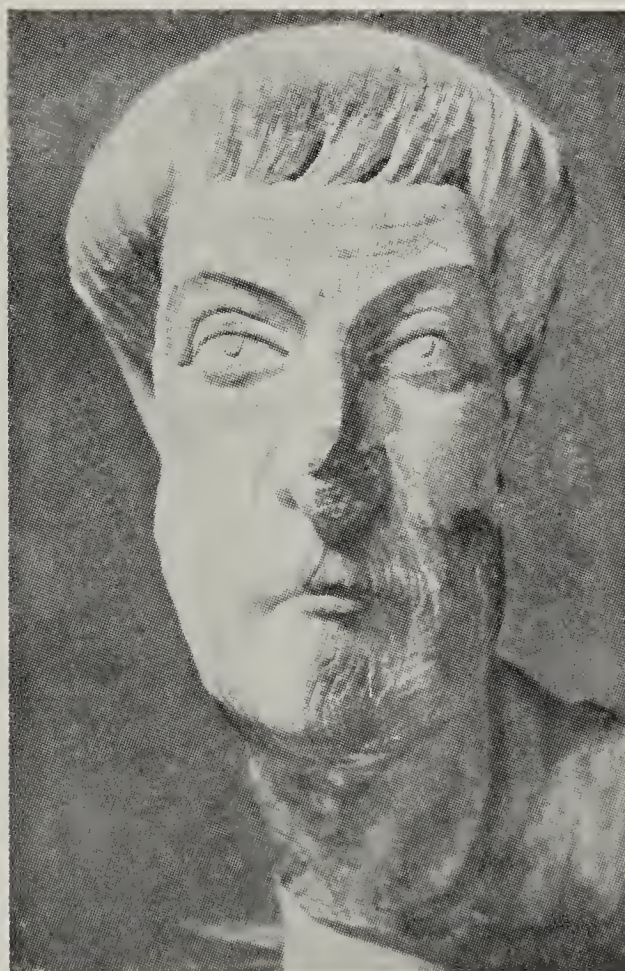


Fig. 4. Portrait from Ephesos. Antikensammlung, Wien. 5 th century A. D. (L'Orange. Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts, catalogue no 115).



Fig. 5. The Thermae at the seashore at Leptis Magna. (After Palladio 1937, I, fig. 6.)

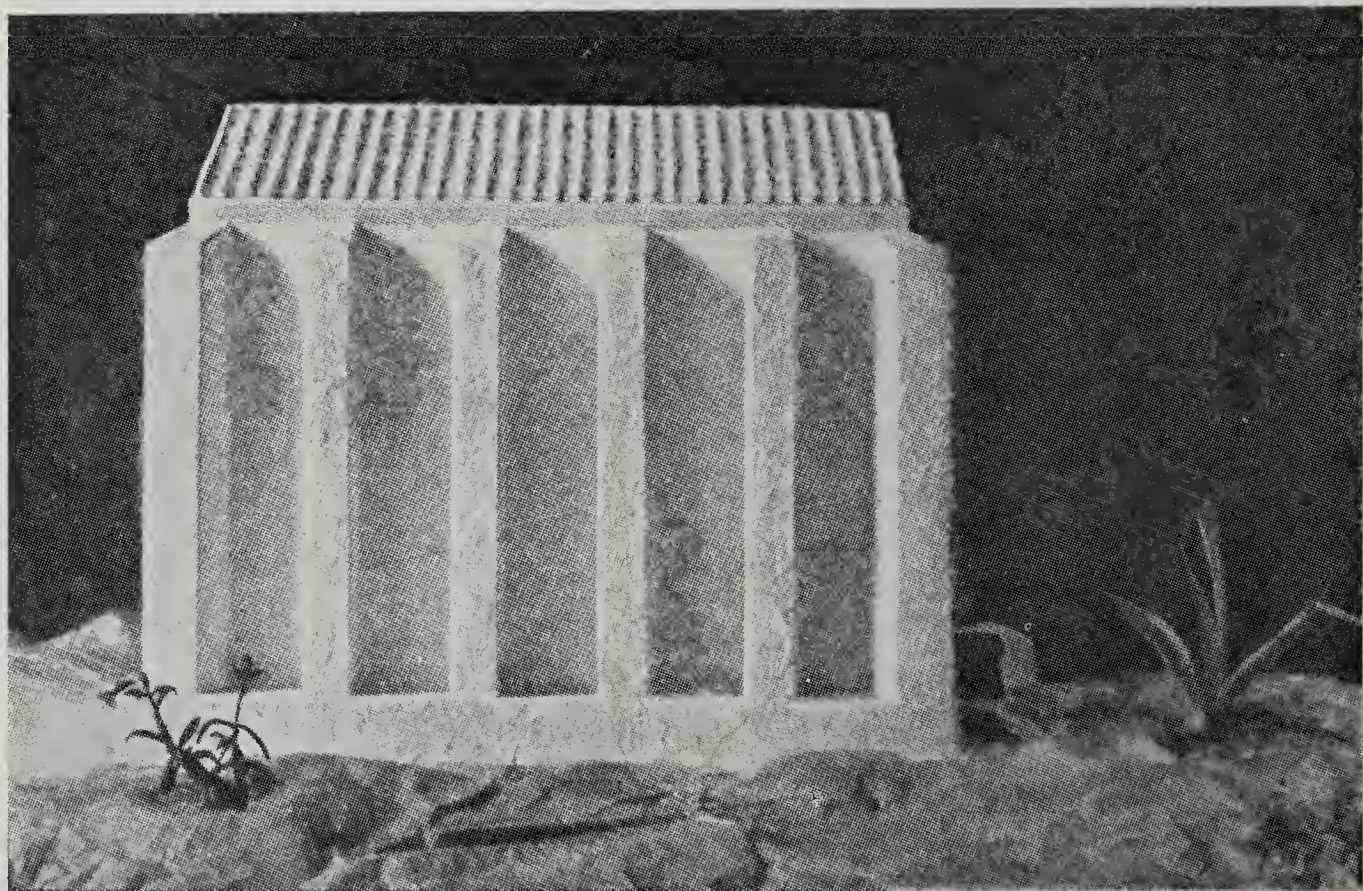


Fig. 6. The Anastasius Mausoleum at Marusinac. Model published in the «Forschungen in Salona», and by Dyggve in the Atti del IV Congresso di Archeologia Cristiana, p. 394.



Fig. 7. The Curia of Diocletian. Back side.



Fig. 8. The Sedes Justitiae of Constantine at Trier.

GÖTEBORGS HÖGSKOLA

1891—1941

FESTSKRIFT

INNEHÅLL

1. Göteborgs Högskola. Dess förhistoria och uppkomst. Av *Curt Weibull*.
2. George Sands roman *L'Homme de neige*. Av *Johan Vising*.
3. Realism i 1700-talets roman. Några anteckningar. Av *Otto Sylwan*.
4. Metoder i nordisk språkhistoria. Av *Nat. Beckman*.
5. Linguistic Theory and the Essence of the Sentence. By *K. F. Sundén*.
6. Logos, Dike, Kosmos in der Entwicklung der griechischen Philosophie. Von *Ernst Cassirer*.
7. Krigspropagandan i Sverige före trettioåriga kriget. Av *Sverker Arnoldsson*.
8. Roman Architecture from its Classicistic to its late Imperial Phase. By *Axel Boëthius*.
9. Prosabidrag i Stockholms Postens första årgångar av Carl Peter Leuningren och Anna Maria Malinstedt. Av *Sverker Ek*.
10. Quelques notions sur l'électrencéphalogramme humain. Par *John Elmgren*.
11. Über den Gebrauch des Privativpräfixes im indogermanischen Adjektiv. Von *Hjalmar Frisk*.
12. Orosius und Iustinus. Ein Beitrag zur iustinischen Textgeschichte. Von *Harald Hagendahl*.
13. A Doric Temple near Asea in Arcadia. By *Erik J. Holmberg*.
14. Fastening the Soul. Some Religious Traits among the Lamet (French Indochina). By *Karl Gustav Izikowitz*.
15. Grolandastenen. Av *Assar Janzén*.
16. Erfarenhetsbegreppet från estetikens utgångspunkter. Av *Folke Leander*.
17. De reflexiva pronomina. Ett stycke tillämpad språkteori. Av *Hjalmar Lindroth*.
18. Medeltidskrönikornas värld. En politisk miljöstudie. Av *Erik Lönnroth*.
19. Der griechische Buchtitel. Einige Beobachtungen. Von *Ernst Nachmanson*.
20. Romanska bokmålningar i Skara stiftsbibliotek. Av *Carl Nordenfalk*.
21. A Letter of Philoxenus of Mabbug sent to a Novice. Edited by *Gunnar Olinder*.
22. The Development of the Fungus Flora in Wet Mechanical Pulp, Manufactured at Different Temperatures and Stored under Different Conditions. By *E. Rennerfelt*.
23. Der A-Meister der Lübecker Bibel aus dem Jahre 1494. Von *Axel L. Romdahl*.
24. Old English æ in the Earlier text of Layamon. By *Gustaf Stern*.
25. Der Instrumentalis als Kasus der Anschauung im Lateinischen. Von *Erik Wistrand*.

GÖTEBORG 1941
ELANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG



UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS-URBANA
722.7B63R C001
ROMAN ARCHITECTURE FROM ITS CLASSICISTIC



3 0112 023638270